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### Author, Author

Readers are invited to identify the sources of the three quotations which follow, and to send us the answers so that they reach this office no later than Friday, May 2. A prize of £10 is offered for the first correct set of answers to be sent by post. The most nearly correct answers will also be taken into consideration. Entries should be addressed to the Editor, The Times Literary Supplement, P.O. Box 7, New Printing House Square, City, London EC4A 3DF. The solution and result will appear in our issue of May 9.

1 The mountain wooded to the peak, the lavas  
And winding glades high up  
like ways to Heaven.  
The slender, drooping  
crown of plumes.  
2 "Where's my cop-cop?"  
handed him the swiftest hand.  
"My word he's a beauty isn't he?"  
Look at his great teeth. Now  
saw a better. I'm damned if I'll  
give him to the Force Com-  
mander. I'll shrink and pickle  
him. I'll give me an interest  
while I'm laid up."

3 At insular café tables under  
awnings  
Bemused benighted half-cafes  
pause  
To stretch upon a table yawning  
Ten yellow claws and  
Order green coconuts to drink  
with straws.  
Result of Competition No. 14:  
Winner: Canon Kelly, 47 Woodbine  
Avenue, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

Answers:  
1 Sometimes it is hard to criti-  
cize, one only wants to chronicle.  
The good and mediocre books come  
in from week to week, and I put  
them aside and read them, and  
think of what to say, but the  
"worthless" books come in day  
after day, like the cries and truck  
sounds from the street, and there  
is nothing that anyone could think  
of that is good enough for them.  
In the bad type of the thin pamph-  
lets, in hand-set lines, or imported  
paper, people's hard lives and hope-  
less ambitions have expressed them-  
selves in a more direct, and heart-  
breaking, than they have ever  
been expressed in any work of art.  
It is as if the writers had sent you  
their ripped-out arms and legs, with  
this "is a poem" scrawled on  
them in lipstick.

—Randall, Jarrell, "A Verse  
Chronicle", Poetry and the Age.  
2 And through the quads  
dogmatic words rang clear,  
"Good poetry is classic and  
"Good poetry is austere."  
—W. H. Auden, Letter to Lord  
Byron, Part IV.

3 We are often told that an era  
is opening in which we are to see  
multitudes of a common sort of  
readers, and masses of a common  
sort of literature; that such readers  
do not want but could not resist  
anything better than such litera-  
ture, and that to provide it is be-  
coming a vast and profitable  
industry. Even if good literature  
entirely lost currency with the  
world, it would still be abundantly  
worth while to continue to enjoy  
it by oneself. But it never will  
lose currency with the world, in  
spite of momentary appearances; it  
never will lose its value as a  
reality and supremacy are insured to  
it not indeed by the world's deli-  
berate and conscious choice, but  
by something far deeper—by the  
instinct of self-preservation in  
humanity.  
—Matthew Arnold, "The Study of  
Poetry", Essays in Criticism,  
Second Series.

Gareth H. Steel

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### Lamp-Posts

You find them in the cities of Europe;

Ornate plush iron, stooped, fluted, winged,

And in the postures of old boulevardiers.

Outside hotels and embassies, they stand:

As the commissioners of savoir faire,

Dressed in the trappings of their era

Along the fashionable avenues.

In Paris like the ghosts of Baudelaire

And in Prague like a rank of Kafkas,

They contemplate the shadows round their feet.

Throw them a coin or two, for they are beggars

Pleading beneath electric eapulettes

For the recovery of time, for hooves,

For carriages and footmen, or for the

Hapsburgian slipper fallen in a puddle

Of sea-light and an evening kneeling

Of fit the slipper to its royal foot.

The rehabilitated lamps of Warsaw

Have been hung with civilians, improvised

As gallows while the multitudes of death

Marched over the rubble, in the darkness.

Therefore I mourn these uprooted lamp-posts

That lean against this wall in a corner of

A warehouse, bleak, municipal, leaning

In stances of exhaustion, their arms across

Their eyes, their brows against a bare brick wall.

Douglas Dunn

## Citizen against citizen

By J. R. Pole

GARY B. NASH:  
The Urban Crucible  
Social Change, Political Conscious-  
ness, and the Origins of the Ameri-  
can Revolution  
588pp. Harvard University Press.  
£11.10.  
0 674 93056 8

"Every town," says Braudel, "is  
and wants to be a world apart. It is  
a striking fact that all of them or  
nearly all between the fifteenth  
and eighteenth centuries had ram-  
pant and distinctive geometry,  
hence cut off from their own im-  
mediate surroundings. But he goes  
on to say that in the British Isles  
there were practically no urban  
fortifications and he virtually  
ignores North American cities as  
being too uncharacteristic for use-  
ful discussion. One might say that  
the first settlers in America  
brought their cities or city  
plans—with them in their survival  
kits. In Massachusetts, contrary to  
the European experience, settle-  
ment spread outwards from Boston.  
One of the most attractive features  
of William Penn's original design  
for Pennsylvania was his green  
country towns of Philadelphia.

Despite these differences, Gary  
B. Nash's comparative approach to  
the study of Boston, New York and  
Philadelphia implies certain impor-  
tant similarities. "Capitalism and  
towns were basically the same  
thing in the West," Braudel  
observes, and Nash begins this long  
and distinguished book with an  
almost identical statement. His  
whole argument assumes that cities  
have been the arena of a peculiar  
intensification and concentration of  
the regions they serve—and on  
which they feed. The principle is  
present in the title: they are  
"crucibles".

The historic tension between  
town and country—certainly a sig-  
nificant element in late American  
history—plays no part in Professor  
Nash's narrative. The fact that  
American towns were founded  
without walls, and without other  
survivals of an obsolete relation-  
ship to their environment, free-  
him from some of the methodologi-  
cal debates which have long been a  
normal ingredient of town history.  
America has had no Pirene  
because it has needed none.

This does not mean that there  
are no such questions to be kept in  
mind. James T. Lemon has  
observed that the overthrow of An-  
drew Jackson and the episode of  
Leislair's rule and overthrow in  
New York both gave rise to a new  
sense of power on the part of the  
populace. In New York, moreover,  
the later party divisions of the  
1830s led directly to advanced elec-  
tioneering techniques, such as took  
generations to develop elsewhere.  
The old upper-class defences in the  
form of lower-class deference  
began to crumble. Yet in this book  
deference always seems to be  
crumbling much as it used to be  
said that the middle class was  
always rising. Much later, when  
describing New York politics in the  
pre-revolutionary period, Nash  
gives a convincing account of the  
way in which the habits of deference  
were enforced through economic  
clientage and open voting; but for  
earlier periods he seems to need  
some explanation of why there  
appears to be so much deference  
left in play after some tumultuous  
upheaval which might have been  
expected to blow it all away. Even  
during their most turbulent inter-  
ventions, the lower orders almost  
invariably had some element of  
middle-class leadership, convenience  
or guidance. But beyond that, it is  
important to recognize that they  
last until a very late phase, they  
had no clear programme of their  
own. Until the mid-eighteenth cen-  
tury, according to Professor Nash,  
their vision of society was almost  
wholly reactionary, as victims of  
the new capitalism, as the "discon-  
tent" of the labouring classes, under  
pressure to look back to the old  
days when all classes lived in a  
community of mutual obligations.

It would be unfair to suggest  
that the discontented members of  
the merchant and gentry classes  
who periodically courted the sup-  
port of the lower orders were in-  
terested in them and were indiffer-  
ent to their needs. But Nash is himself  
careful to make clear that such a  
popular leader as Eliza Cooke, the  
younger, in Massachusetts, sought  
to make, she argues, a political  
career, but never for one moment  
hinted at enlarging the electorate.  
He is sympathetic to the popular  
leadership of the Boston govern-  
ment before the Revolution, but  
points out that there was no solid

"working class", that artisan and  
other lower class groups could in  
some circumstances oppose each  
other, and that although forms of  
"class consciousness" arose under  
pressure, they tended to vanish  
into insignificance when the pres-  
sure eased away. In places his de-  
finitions are a bit elusive: "shop-  
keepers" are classed with "mer-  
chants" in Boston, while in Phila-  
delphia they appear as artisans  
selling their own wares. No doubt  
there were many more of the latter  
in Philadelphia, which Sem Bass  
Warner has described as a city  
where nearly everyone was either  
an independent contractor or an  
artisan shopkeeper.

The issue, then, is the growth of  
economic relations, of class-con-  
sciousness and of class conscious  
political actions in the leading  
colonial cities of America. The  
comparative approach, which Pro-  
fessor Nash handles with unobtrus-  
ive skill, has convinced him that  
the Marxist maxim that the mode  
of production dictates the nature  
of class relations has only limited  
potential for explaining changes  
during some historical  
eras. It is not different modes of  
production that account for the  
striking differences among the  
three port towns in the historical  
development of class conscious-  
ness but the different  
experiences of people who lived  
within three urban societies that  
shared a common mode of  
production.

Professor Nash's book is one of the  
finest works on colonial America  
since the revival of interest that  
began some twenty-five years ago;  
and his enormously thorough  
research, discriminating judgment  
and lucid exposition will place these  
problems in the forefront of his-  
torical attention for the next  
generation of colonial historians.  
Historians of the economic and  
social history of other parts of the  
Western world will also have to  
recount with these findings.

Class consciousness seems to  
have gone in short bursts. Nash  
finds that the overthrow of An-  
drew Jackson and the episode of  
Leislair's rule and overthrow in  
New York both gave rise to a new  
sense of power on the part of the  
populace. In New York, moreover,  
the later party divisions of the  
1830s led directly to advanced elec-  
tioneering techniques, such as took  
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invariably had some element of  
middle-class leadership, convenience  
or guidance. But beyond that, it is  
important to recognize that they  
last until a very late phase, they  
had no clear programme of their  
own. Until the mid-eighteenth cen-  
tury, according to Professor Nash,  
their vision of society was almost  
wholly reactionary, as victims of  
the new capitalism, as the "discon-  
tent" of the labouring classes, under  
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to make, she argues, a political  
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some circumstances oppose each  
other, and that although forms of  
"class consciousness" arose under  
pressure, they tended to vanish  
into insignificance when the pres-  
sure eased away. In places his de-  
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chants" in Boston, while in Phila-  
delphia they appear as artisans  
selling their own wares. No doubt  
there were many more of the latter  
in Philadelphia, which Sem Bass  
Warner has described as a city  
where nearly everyone was either  
an independent contractor or an  
artisan shopkeeper.

There is an excellent account of  
the struggle in Boston in 1733-34  
over the merchant élite's attempt  
to confine all trading to a civic  
market under corporate control. A  
series of intensely fought elections  
ended with a "voluntary" market  
rather than a "mandatory" one.  
There can be no doubt, either, that  
the closely connected movement,  
began in 1708, by the leading  
Boston merchants to transfer city  
government to a chartered corpo-  
ration and do away with town meet-  
ings was calculated to get the  
economic advantages into their  
own hands. It was not the mer-  
chants who defended the venerable  
institutions of local self-govern-  
ment. It also seems worth noting,  
since the rise of the market  
economy plays such an omnipre-  
sent part in this book, that the  
merchants here were not urging  
laissez-faire but a restricted market  
under their own control. The  
threat was defeated by the votes of  
the lower orders, including the  
small retailers who regarded the  
proposed public market as a threat  
to their own livelihoods.

Yet the evidence of voting in the  
Boston town meeting suggests to  
Professor Nash that the suffrage  
may have been less widespread  
there than has been traditionally  
believed. By "traditionally," he  
means Robert E. Brown's account  
of Middle-Class Democracy (1955),  
which gave Boston a suffrage  
of 56 per cent of adult males.  
(This was very much lower than  
Brown's findings for the rest of the  
provincia. He also notes how  
men down below the property qual-  
ification line. This observation is  
one of many illustrations of the  
more general theme that Colonial  
America was not a scene of unend-  
ing material progress and universal  
upward mobility.

In Boston, more than in the other  
cities, working-class life appears as  
a continual and unequal struggle.  
Boston's population actually  
diminished between 1742 and 1752  
at a time when New York and  
Philadelphia were rising rapidly. It  
is impossible to analyse this ques-  
tion without going back to the  
relationship of the city to its envi-  
ronment, which Nash accordingly does.  
Boston's trouble was that it was  
the capital of the least productive  
agricultural area in the colonies;  
early in the eighteenth century  
Boston became a net importer of  
food, and this reliance on external  
food supplies grew constantly hea-

vier down to the Revolution; in  
1757 the city had to borrow £3,000  
from the General Court to pay its  
municipal employees. In 1756, with  
shipbuilding booming in New York  
and making beginnings even in  
some of the rival Massachusetts  
ports such as Salem and Marble-  
head, Boston appealed to the Mas-  
sachusetts legislature for help. The  
city was caught in a cycle of unem-  
ployment and under-investment. Its  
other industries, notably the distil-  
leries and sugar bakeries, dropped  
in output to less than half the level  
of the mid-1740s. Boston also suf-  
fered peculiar manpower losses  
from the Royal Navy's habit of  
docking there and making it a base  
for impressments.

Impressment had a disastrous  
effect on the fishing fleets. From  
1754 to 1761 the codfish exports fell  
from 39,756 barrels to a mere  
16,000. Boston, unlike New York  
and Philadelphia, was also severely de-  
pleted of manpower by the wars  
against the French in Canada, and  
direct result being an exceptional  
population of widows needing pub-  
lic support, and a continual surplus  
of unmarried women.

It is one of Professor Nash's  
themes that the burdens of the  
poor were made more acute by the  
development of the new economics  
of competitive enterprise. The new  
market economy, as he observes,  
was impersonal. Many of his pages  
reverberate with Joyce Kilmer's  
brilliant work on the ideological  
and practical consequences of mar-  
ket economics; but nobody, he  
remarks, had thought they would  
bring such hardships, and no one  
really understood what was hap-  
pening. The psychological conse-  
quences were also damaging, particu-  
larly to the poor. As the idea of  
a responsible community gave  
way to a society of competing in-  
dividuals, people blamed each other,  
and dangerous animosities boiled up  
in the confined area of the city.

In a penetrating analysis of the  
effects of the Great Awakening in  
Boston, Nash shows how the  
teaching of Whitfield, Tennant  
and Davenport drew the attention  
of the poor to the nature of their  
social grievances. It was Tennant  
and Davenport particularly who in-  
troduced the menacing idea of  
class resentment. He suggests that  
when the respectable Boston press  
described these preachers as  
"wild," and when the grand jury  
ruled Davenport "non compos  
mentis," they may have been  
engaging themselves in a struggle  
for social self-preservation on the  
part of the middle classes. In the  
more prosperous cities of New  
York and Philadelphia, Whitfield's  
preaching produced no comparable  
disturbances and no upper-class  
alarm.

The implication seems to be that  
these crises could somehow have  
been avoided if Boston had  
managed to sidestep the market  
economy. Yet Professor Nash's

pages make clear that the wealthy  
gave generously to charities, that  
the upper and middle classes  
were heavily taxed for public poor  
relief, but that these redistributive  
measures could make no contribu-  
tion to the basic problem of econo-  
mic growth. In historical perspec-  
tive, the problem has to be seen  
more as one of regional economics  
than of class war.

Professor Nash's comparative  
method elucidates the problem, but  
a slight incompatibility between his  
rhetoric and his analysis tends to  
obscure the explanation. By his  
account, the old order, the passing  
of which the lower orders seem to  
have regretted, was in a sense even  
less egalitarian, since it did not  
include the concept of social  
mobility. What, then, has happened?  
The answer is that the whole of  
colonial society was changing, but  
in Massachusetts these changes  
were taking place in an economy  
that was simply not generating  
enough wealth to feed, house and  
warm its members. The primary  
focus and much of the rhetorical  
attention on the rise of the inter-  
national market casts the blame  
both poverty and class antagonism  
on the divisive processes of competi-  
tion. But in his regional analysis  
Nash points very clearly to the  
major differences in productive  
resources between Massachusetts,  
New York and Pennsylvania. This  
leaves it most unlikely that any  
other system of production would  
have improved Boston's position in  
comparison with the other city  
ports. The basic problem as sug-  
gested by Nash's own evidence is  
that Massachusetts was not self-suf-  
ficient.

New York and Philadelphia by  
contrast enjoyed prosperous hinter-  
lands, increasing benefits from  
overseas commerce, and a generally  
(not invariably) appropriate  
balance of population. The war  
period from 1754 to 1759, which  
Nash describes as a "watershed",  
brought abundant British contracts  
and fed multiplier effects into  
their domestic economy. It is  
noteworthy that artisans began to  
take advantage of their new oppor-  
tunities for self-employment to seek  
short contracts at higher wages. Every-  
one was involved in this burgeoning op-  
portunity market, and certainly the  
prosperous artisan in these cities  
did not linger nostalgically on the  
old "community" of the old  
order. The British connection con-  
stituted a sort of additional "hin-  
terland" for the advancing port  
towns—as it might be said that the  
North Atlantic coastlines and  
wharves constituted the hinterland  
for Massachusetts more productive  
than its granite farms.

This prosperity collapsed rather  
suddenly even before the war came  
to an end. British currency restric-  
tions tightened credit when the  
flow of cash was drying up. Bad  
times generated a new wave of  
lower class hostilities, made all the  
worse by the high living  
which many of the merchants had  
displayed to the world. According  
to Professor Nash profound  
changes occur about mid-century,  
when, for the first time, social  
structure and social order begin  
to diverge. As society becomes  
more stratified, ideology—at least  
that of the artisans, small retailers  
and labourers—grows more egali-  
tarian. This, gives Professor Nash,  
his base for a view of the Stamp  
Act disorders that brings out the  
force of the latent internal class  
animosities. And it is in this







# From Mexico to Mysore

By Eric Stokes

GUY ARNOLD:  
Held Fast for England  
G. A. Henry: Imperialist Boys'  
Writer  
195pp. Hamish Hamilton. £8.95.  
0 241 10373 B

Of the talents that Eliot listed as among the marks of literary greatness Henry possessed two in superlative measure: abundance and complete competence. The regular flow of his boys' books did not begin until he was nearly fifty and in the remaining twenty years or so before his death in 1902 he turned out no fewer than eighty-nine full-length tales. This was only part of his output. In addition to short stories and magazine contributions he wrote eleven two and three-volume novels for adults and edited his dispatches as a war correspondent in *The March to Magdala* (1886) and *The March to Comassie* (1874). W. G. Blackie, his publisher, estimated that with American pirated editions his total sales could have topped twenty-five million. His books continued to find a public for half a century after his death, the last major reprint being made in the later 1950s. Now as his stories pass into obsolescence Henry has become a cult, like the steam train, with a Henry Society and university library exhibitions of the splendidly illustrated covers of the original editions.

No other writer for the young exercised a title of his influence, but he has always sat awkwardly on the literary conscience. Guy Arnold appears peculiarly ill at ease. Having turned from writing on contemporary political developments in Borneo, Kenya and Nigeria, he shakes his head sadly at such talent gone astray. On Henry's head are cast all the sins of promoting those public school attitudes of racial arrogance and ineffable superiority which he sees as having damaged Britain's footsteps in the third world and hastened her national decline. Arnold says that his book is not a biography but an attempt to assess Henry's importance and influence as a boys' writer. His method is one of elaborate classification supported by elaborate quotation. After chronicling the known facts of Henry's somewhat obscure life, he sets himself to docket and label the literary techniques and moral attitudes. Finally, having arranged the stories into groups, the historical, the Indian, the African, the American—he combs through them again to reinforce many of the earlier points. Arnold claims that Henry worked through rudimentary set techniques and moral stereotypes, and his book consists largely in the multiplication of examples. Arnold's own method is scissors-and-paste. The reader is jerked from one point to another by a myriad of short quotations without ever being given a connected flow of argument. Most of the elements for making a considered critical judgment are assembled, but the author carefully evades making one. Even in his concluding chapter, "Assessments", he is for the most part content to quote the views of others.

Obsession with Henry the moralist obscures the nature of his permanent hold as a writer. Admittedly Henry's splendid readability does not yield readily to analysis. There seems little one can say of a tale of action well told. As Alun Lewis pointed out in his experience when a war-time soldier in Burma, "The act sustains, there is no consequence." Yet the manner in which words are put together to project a world of hard visual images becomes a natural mastery or hidden cunning of craftsmanship that in Henry's case needs badly to be explored. Anthony Burgess has perceptively observed (*The Observer*, March 24, 1980) that the novel of action and adventure has been deliberately excluded from "The Great Tradition". The academicism of literary taste find no place for the genre which runs from Defoe through Scott, Mark Twain to Rider Haggard, Kipling, Buchan, Ballantyne and Henry. The books remain the steady sweet one eats on the fly, mere kids' stuff.

It is a sense of guilt that gets in the way of objective appreciation, because of the apparently cheerful

acceptance by these authors of the unacceptable faces of "capitalist imperialism", there is some reason to believe that, in Henry, Arnold has mistaken his man.

There can be no gainsaying, of course, that Henry's tales are full of moral undertones, which he was not adverse to making explicit. In order that his young readers should not think that they were being given a historical tale remote from all immediate significance, Henry put out his message in *Henry's* preface to *St. George for England: A Tale of Cressy and Poitiers* (1885):

... War has its lessons as well as Peace. You will learn from tales like this that determination and enthusiasm can accomplish marvels, that true courage is especially accompanied by magnanimity and gentleness, and that if not in itself the very highest of virtues, it is the parent of almost all the others, since but few of them can be practised without it. The courage of our forefathers has created the greatest empire in the world around a small and insignificant island; if by this empire is ever lost, it will be by the cowardice of their descendants.

Guy Arnold points up the evidence of blatant racism, of the constant resort to derogatory ethnic stereotypes, and of an obsession with Britain's imperial mission. Yet a little examination will demonstrate that Henry cannot be so readily categorised. Arnold has to admit that his most ardent imperialist and most distasteful references to black peoples came in 1900 when the septuagenarian author was at the end of his life and the dragon of imperialism was breathing its last defiant snort of fire. In fact the bulk of Henry's writing was not directed to empire, only a quarter of the titles listed in the appendix being devoted to imperial topics. Some of his favourite historical novels, *The Cat of Buxton*, *The Young Carthaginians*, and *For the Temple*, look ancient Rome, Carthage and Israel for their subjects, but the books sold so poorly because their heroes were not English that Henry felt driven to an expedient theme. Nearly half of his boys' books were concerned with episodes in English and European history. So far from imposing his views on the younger generation, Henry's keen sensitivity to the market prompted him to shape his work to the exact tastes of the time.

## On the royal circuit

By Richard Osborne

NOBLE FRANKLAND:  
Prince Henry: Duke of Gloucester  
343pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.  
£10.  
0 297 7705 X

His father and two of his brothers were kings of England, his niece is now queen. His mother had suggested two European princes for him, but he married the charming younger daughter of a Scottish duke. He was the first son of an English monarch to go to a boarding school, St. Peter's Court, near Sandhurst. He followed, and then Sandhurst. He was a highly-trained horseman and a practical game shot, with more than fifty heads on the Sandhurst walls. He was a career cavalry officer in the 10th Hussars and hoped eventually to command the regiment. But he was always too near the throne, and arms gave way to the multitudinous ceremonial and diplomatic tasks he had to do. His life became a round of duty, long journeys by sea and air, luncheon dinners, receptions, inspections of guards of honour, and boy scouts, avenues of "spontaneous" cheering schoolgirls, changes of uniform, typewritten speeches, interlocking red carpets and chairs on platforms watching tribal dances: in his spare time, some polo, hunting, and seafaring, writing thank-you letters and signing photographs to go in silver frames on gold-plated in palaces. Government House and ambassadors' drawing rooms.

Prince Henry (as the author mostly calls him throughout the book) had an early taste of what was to be his life's work when he

Henry's ethnic stereotypes are likewise much less simple and fixed than Guy Arnold at first suggests. Having set them up Henry deliberately punctures the partition walls between them. One method was intermarriage. Although in *The Lion of St. Mark: A Story of Venice in the Fourteenth Century* Henry can speak of "the easy mendacity" of the lower classes among the Mediterranean races, Francis Hammond, the hero, marries Giulia. In *No Surrender: A Tale of the Rising in La Vendée* Patsy, the Cornish girl, marries Jean Martin, the Frenchman; in *Jack Archer: A Tale of the Crimean War* marries Olga, the daughter of Count Preskoff, a wartime enemy; in *By Right of Conquest: With Cortez in Mexico* Roger marries Aménche and to this day many of the first families in Devonshire are proud that there runs in their veins the blood of the Aztec princess; in *The Tiger of Mysore: A Story of the War with Tipu Sultan* Dick Holland, the young hero, has an Indian raja as a stepfather. Like most Victorians free from the racism of the lower middle classes Henry remained ambivalently to race and nationality. For him the ladder of social hierarchy expressed and secured the moral order, but the different rungs of class and race arranged themselves in uncertain sequence.

Henry came of age with the onset of the Crimean War and of twenty years of subsequent war and upheaval. He broke off his education at Cambridge to take a commission in the Commissariat Department and saw active service in Russia. On leaving the army five years later he tried his hand at mining in Sardinia before becoming a war correspondent. He covered the Austro-Italian war, the Abyssinian campaign, the Franco-Prussian war, the Russo-Turkish war, the Ashanti campaign, the Carlist uprising, the Paris Commune, and the Serbo-Turkish war, as well as visiting India during the Prince of Wales's tour of 1875. His life-long hobby became ocean yachting. Left widowed at twenty-two with four children, Henry turned tardily to authorship. In 1868-69 he published his Abyssinian dispatches, in *The March to Magdala*, wrote two novels, *A Search for a Secret* and *All But Lost*, and brooded over a children's story, *Out on the Pampas*. The patent of nobility of his handling of the first two genres proved the secret of his success in the last. But it took another ten years and the knowledge that his health and age forbade further

overseas travel before he discovered his true métier. The apprenticeship had been long and strict, but it left him perfectly equipped.

His campaign dispatches, collected in *The March to Magdala* and *The March to Comassie*, contained wonderfully clear and detailed accounts but never rose above the level of *Blackwood's Magazine*, lacking all serious political or historical analysis. His novels, especially *All But Lost*, possess a certain early Dickensian naivety and charm. Henry peccated with his writing for adults, publishing *A Hidden Face* in 1891 and *Rufus the Juggler* in 1893, but they hark back to what appeared the simpler world of the 1850s for their setting, as though Henry was acknowledging that anything more complex in the delay of character and scene was beyond him. His failure as an ordinary novelist contrasts with his extraordinary preeminence as a boys' writer and in part explains it. The vivid descriptive powers of the war correspondent, the vivid scenes of action were joined with the simplicity of character and plot he employed as a novelist. He transposed unaltered the vigorous straightforward language and style in which he wrote for adults. Boys felt at once that here was an author who was not talking down to them. Against the ingenueness which infuses his characters was juxtaposed his unerring technical mastery over the *mise-en-scène*. Unlike the knowing tone and false parade of expertise which Kipling found necessary to disguise his own practical ignorance and inexperience, Henry's writing bore the mark of complete authenticity. Everything in his life conspired to aid him. His first-hand acquaintance with soldiering and campaigning, his knowledge of ships and the sea, his far-flung travels to the countries in which his stories were set, all stamped his work with the mark of authority which boys instantly recognise.

Kipling used the techniques of placing his stories within two or three frames. Henry did the same, but raised the significance of his subject not by the contrivance of inventive art but by setting it within a genuine historical framework. In this way the Marlborough wars, the Peninsular campaign, or the exploits of a chivalrous knight brought vividly to life, while the fictional young hero, with whom a boy can identify, rises up to meet the real world and experiences the elevated sense of acting in great

historical events. Henry was the Tolstoy of the schoolroom.

He dictated his books to order, much as Scott reeled off his tales, but he evolved a ready technique but it is less obvious than may appear. Henry achieved an initial dramatic tension not through any internal discordance in his characters but through a discordance between them and their surroundings. He takes a young hero, a paragon of the public virtues, like Dick in *The Tiger of Mysore*. There is no flaw, no inner doubt. He Henry displaces him from his natural position in society, and the essence of the story is the manner in which his hero regains the rank and station to which his inner moral worth entitles him. In his adult novels, particularly the early *All But Lost*, Henry used the same theme: persons who had fallen by no chance from their true niche were worthy by dint of character to rise from below. As with Kipling there is the explosion of the double shock to the reader's sensibility—firstly, the hierarchical compartmentalization of society and experience into absolute categories, reflecting the true moral order, and then of deliberately breaching these divisions by setting his characters in an alien environment.

The reader is left in no doubt that the hero will ultimately triumph, but he does so by partly surrendering to the alien class and partly appropriating it to himself. One device is hypergamous intermarriage, in which class is traded off against moral worth of race traded off against rank. In other psychological safety-valves which appealed to Henry as much as to Kipling was the notion of the "faithful dependant" or "good native", who symbolically was the Englishman's or upper-class person's life, but who cannot move from his social station. One thinks of the American in *With Cortez* the *Danvers*, or the Indian hero in *At the Point of the Daguerre*, or *Rufus the Juggler*. Here friendship and love may be extended to the alien meant but at the price of blinding it in the emotional bond of a kind of feudal dependency. After the release of tension in violent action, the hero returns to the social and moral order, first re-established by means of a limited accommodation and the reconciliation of the sense of complete psychological security in which the story ends. Henry's artistic consciousness, like Kipling's, was deeper than the race to empire. Guy Arnold's book drew attention to a neglected nineteenth-century mine, but there is more gold in the pay dirt than he allows.

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CHATTO &amp; WINDUS

## commentary

## Freud of the Yard

By Andrew Hislop

Bad Timing  
London cinemas

Usually Nicolas Roeg's people find themselves confronted with new, unknown worlds. Two children get lost in the Australian outback in *Walkabout*, a married couple experience the psychic and the paranormal in *Don't Look Now*, an alien drops in on our planet in *The Man Who Fell to Earth*. His new film, *Bad Timing*, gives us a psychoanalyst in Vienna. Coals to Newcastle in comparison, one might think. But Dr Alex Linden (Art Garfunkel), an American lecturer in psychoanalysis at the University of Vienna, is quite a different practitioner from the early pioneers of the unconscious, and Vienna, though still sporting an art gallery in one of the rare glimpses which Roeg allows us, is not the city of its cultural heyday. Advertisements for jam bedeck the trams. Strippers bounce bare buttocks on nets above customers in bars. The Police Inspector (Harvey Keitel) would like to see Fidelio but the tickets are too expensive.

Vienna is Americanized. The main protagonists in the film, Linden and his erstwhile girlfriend, Milena Flaherty (Theresa Russell), are American, but we are not given the poignant niceties of the occupied Vienna of *The Third Man*. Milena's Czech husband (Danhelm Elliot) rolls a fat Slavonic "I'm a Bigger guy" but Kreisel, though aided by obviously Austrian assistants, plays the Inspector long-haired and transatlantic. "This is Austria," he remarks to Linden. We need convincing.

Linden returns to mock in love, rather than celebrate in science, the origins of his profession. He is more interested in quick, half-clothed copulation on a staircase than in more arcane sexual symbolism, in penetrating an unconscious person than a person's unconscious. He tells a group of students in the Freud Museum that a kiss is an inquiry on the first floor whether the second is free, then retreats to frolic irreverently with Milena on the master's couch while Sigmond frowns down from his portrait.

We are given more conventional examples of Linden's pedagogical practice. He tells a class that we are all spies, watchers, observers and projects a slide of a boy at the front of the hall looking at a picture of his fornicating parents at the back. Debased psychoanalysis, no doubt, and Linden is a debased psychoanalyst. He works for the American army, giving colour tests and making psychological reports, and he drives a red sports car.

This vulgarization of psychoanalysis suits the purpose of *Bad Timing*. It is a passionate love story told and told through cinematic analysis. The voyeuristic Inspector, as analyst, prompts Linden to "tell me what you dare not", to reveal whether he allowed the overused Milena to go into a coma before he called on an ambulance. We do not need to be convinced of Linden's theories. We want to know what he did to the girl.

The film opens with Milena being taken to hospital, and the details and the outcome of the story are revealed by intricate cutting: between the operating theatre, episodes in Linden and Milena's love affair, and the police investigation.

The D. H. Lawrence half-century celebrations moved last week to Mexico, where Christopher Miles began shooting a film biography of the novelist, based on Harry T. Moore's *The Prince of Love*. The screenplay is by Allen Pieter and Miles has, according to the publicity, been ransacking the *Casting Directory* for look-alikes to play the main roles. The search has not taken him far outside the box-office. Ian McKellen is playing Lawrence and Janet Suzman is his Ava Gardner. He is Mabel Dodge Lohm; Penelope Keith, Dorothy Brett. Sir John Gielgud will make an intriguing appearance as the censor Herbert G. Muskett.

This technique works best when we are allowed to witness its subtleties without such observations from the characters as "Everything I say has to be said in the context of who I am". That the Inspector and Linden have the same painting shows the link between them better than the hesitant, tortured comparisons uttered by detective to doctor.

Udoff manages to slip into his screenplay enough intentional humour to keep things going, even if the pace of the revelations becomes laboured towards the end of the film. There is a delicately hilarious scene in which a Czech official explains divorce in his country to Linden. However, *Bad Timing* is, above all, a delight for the voyeur, and not just the kind of voyeur who likes an unclad Miss Russell. Every room is so cluttered with paintings, sculptures, masks, dolls, fashions, objects trouvés, that Freud's own study seems symbolically bare in comparison. Linden is seen clutching his penknife when he meets Milena who, throughout the film, wears a battery of significant brooches. Prominently displayed books are less happy as symbols: Blake is to be found on the fateful bed; Plater's *No Man's Land* appears in a German version; Paul Bowles's *The Sheltering Sky* prompts a visit by Linden and Milena to Morocco.

Garfunkel, eighteen going on forty, the innocence of his *Carnal Knowledge* frizzy locks sufficiently head, adeptly manages to convince as both outraged lover and sinister doctor. Theresa Russell does justice to the role of the mysterious, difficult, appealing blonde: through the role itself, despite (or because of) lines like "All I want is my own life" but Kreisel, though aided by obviously Austrian assistants, plays the Inspector long-haired and transatlantic. "This is Austria," he remarks to Linden. We need convincing.

Making Weil too precious

By Patrick O'Connor

Silverlake  
New York City Opera.

New York has a second-generation Weil cult, a quarter of a century after its "discovery" of his European operas there after his death in 1950. Having successfully played *Street Scene* in recent seasons, the City Opera are giving the first American performances of Der Silbersee, conducted by Julius Rodel in an adaptation by Lys Rodel. The libretto is the head of the Kurt Weill Institute, Georg Kaiser's theatre in Hitler's Germany; the first and only performances in February 1933 were interrupted by Nazi demonstrators, and in March 1934 the opera was banned. Since then the piece has not been staged, although several concert performances have taken place including one at the 1971 Holland Festival with Lotte Lenya, her only appearance in this work and the occasion of her farewell to the stage.

The story concerns Severin, one of a group of homeless men living by the Silver Lake of the title, and his realization that love is stronger than revenge when he is reconciled with Olm, a policeman who has robbed him during a grocery store robbery. A subplot sees Frau von Luber and the gross Baron von Oelm out of his money and home; destitute, he and Severin decide to return to the lake and drown themselves. In the original, when they reach the shore they find the frozen and dead bodies of the voice of the innocent girl. The more encouraging theme: "The lake will support anyone who decides he must go on further." This symbolic ending has been somewhat altered, and several other changes have been made, including the story and removing attempts to give its socio-political implications in order to concentrate on the relationship between the two men.

Weill's score contains only sixteen numbers, written for the most part

in his mature post Mahagonny vein. A waltz duet for two shop girls and a tango for a sinister man delivering a lottery prize are the only echoes of *Die Dreigroschenoper*. In production, part of a ballet Weill wrote in 1927 for a performance of Strindberg's *Gustav III*, and a song from the incidental music for Lion Feuchtwanger's *Die Petronium* have been added. Although this allows more of the story to unfold in music, the general treatment is balanced uneasily between musical and opera and is not helped by the inclusion of the ballet, which can never have crossed the minds of author or composer.

Joel Gray, a vivacious performer in the best Broadway tradition, plays Olm. Gray is much more a dancer than a singer (although his name is listed among the baritone in the City Opera's roster of soloists) so that his voice has to be amplified, which upsets the balance between orchestra and singers exactly as happened in London recently with Julie Covington in the ENO's *Seven Deadly Sins*.

One cannot help feeling that his presence is also intended as a reminder of Cabaret, and his portrayal in it of the Master of Ceremonies, nevertheless it is a touching and characteristically dapper performance. Severin is sung by William Wall, at his best in the short time with Elisabeth Hynes as Fanni, the put-upon poor relation. Hynes sings her aria sensitively, with its yearning climax "You call this living? I call it despair!" (As translated by Yvonne Arden). This character is deprived of her sharper edge because the "Ballad of Caesar", in which she reminds the audience that all tyrants may fall in the end, is allotted instead to a French song, sung by Elaine Bonaldi, a sort of red-haired Wicked Queen in a Chagall mood. It is typical of the soft-centred mood of the production that this moral, startling when sung by a French singer, should emerge as a ballad of courage for the villainess. It was this song, sung by anything else in the film, which engaged the

Harold Prince's production is swift, and unlike many opera productions he knows how to move the chorus usefully. Moments of re-echoes of *Die Dreigroschenoper* are produced, part of a ballet Weill wrote in 1927 for a performance of Strindberg's *Gustav III*, and a song from the incidental music for Lion Feuchtwanger's *Die Petronium* have been added. Although this allows more of the story to unfold in music, the general treatment is balanced uneasily between musical and opera and is not helped by the inclusion of the ballet, which can never have crossed the minds of author or composer.

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## commentary

## The knocks and blows of Irish history

By T. P. Matheson

The Shadow of a Gunman  
The Other Place, Stratford

The wails quake and resound to the hammering of British soldiers on a raid, splintering wood and breaking glass; inside, the tang of cordite; outside, a woman's cries of "Up the Republic!" echo across the deserted streets of the Avon. The cluttered tenement life of Hill-Park Square, Dublin, May 1920 (all legends, empty porter bottles, enameled chamber-pots, a crucifix) is recreated alongside the comfortable converted houses of Stratford-upon-Avon's own old town, among whose denizens the deprived urban proletariat are not notably represented. Such a carefully detailed, naturalistic reconstruction in what is essentially an open-space theatre has its disadvantages (characters standing about blocking the view, for example), but the record of *The Other Place* demonstrates its ability to house thoroughly convincing versions of plays of almost any period, in any convention.

The RSC, already specialists in the most conventional and melodramatic works of Shakespeare, aptly resurrect Sean O'Casey's *Shadow of a Gunman* to commemorate the centenary of his birth. O'Casey's own debut as an amateur actor was as that saintly victim Henry VI, and another RSC favourite, Dion Boucicault, could easily have inspired some of the melodramatic incident and low-comedy characters of this first successful two-act play. O'Casey ("The Irish people are very fond of turning a serious thing into a joke") resolutely called his story of the postroom-pot Donal Davoren, a supposed IRA man on the run who lets his innocent lover go to a bloody death to save his own skin, a tragedy. Michael Bogdanov's production certainly generates pity and fear at its bitter conclusion, although it languishes somewhat on the irrepressible tide of puns, malapropisms, comic turns, and drunken songs which burst in on the squalid room occupied by Davoren and his best friend Shields. Shields, in Norman Rodway's performance, achieves all the primitive superstition, fear, and malignity required by the author. He spends most of the play recumbent on a sewerage bed, dragging a grubby blanket about his head, vainly seeking to silence "the tappin' on the wall" which pursues him through the dimly lit landscape of his mind. "A landmine exploding underneath the bed is the only thing that would lift you out of it" (and the play itself is precisely such a landmine), but Shields, literally and metaphorically, and like most of the others in the play, is "fast in the arms of Morpheus" until the

guns awaken him and Davoren to a life of real pain and remorse, ironically validating Davoren's romantic refrain from Shelley, "Ah me! alas, pain, pain ever, for ever!"

This is the harsh lesson of all O'Casey, beyond his compassion for the condition of the Irish urban poor. There is no refuge in superstition, in fantasies of glory, in the bottle, in dreams of love, in poetic fictions. When the test of courage and belief comes—"the tappin' on the wall"—the *Macbeth*-like knocking at the gate—a man, if he is anywhere to be found under his blanket of self-deception and illusion, must stand. Perhaps the most pathetic and painful moment of this play is the denial by Davoren and Shields, under interrogation by a brutal British soldier, of their Gaelic affiliations and ancestry. It seems almost axiomatic in O'Casey

that while the men dive for cover, cringing and covering at the explosions around them, the women, or some of them, ardent and tender as Minnie Powell here, calmly face the burden not only of daily life but of the historical process as well. O'Casey had tested these matters on his senses and yet retained hope and courage: first, as the poor, half-blind youngest of thirteen children, struggling for existence in just such a tenement as this play recreates; later, in Jim Larkin's Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and in the Irish Citizen Army in 1913; finally, as a playwright exiled from his own people. This exhilarating Stratford performance captures some of the contradictions of his genius: the relish for colourful and grotesque humanity (Adolphus Grigson's Orange Lodge strut, twirling his umbrella like a lethal mace); the

delight in the picaresque of speech (Mr Gallagher's letter "as good a letter as was composed by a scholar"); the affection for innocence and young love (Minnie's "Quick Mr Davoren, write me names in typewriting before I go"); the indignation at the lies men live by and the oppression which makes such lies inevitable. The audience is lulled by the amiable eccentricities of the first act to anticipate an evening of quiet enjoyment at the antics of that "hopeless country"; but when the raid erupts, around as well as in front of us, we share the physically sick fear and self-disgust (vividly evoked by Michael Pennington) of the demoralized Davoren. Of course, in the end we are protected from these cruel truths; the play ends, we go home. In the theatre, if not in the world outside, catharsis rules.



"Two nude women, one seated", charcoal or black chalk, c. 1906-7; and (below) "Scolding mother with two children", pen and ink on squared paper, c. 1910. Both are in the exhibition of early drawings by Augustus John at the Maclean Gallery, reviewed here.

## The diversities of Dorelia

By Rosemary Dinnage

Augustus John Early Drawings  
Maclean Gallery

Dorelia is undisputed queen of the group of early Augustus John drawings on show at the Maclean Gallery, St George's Street, London W1, until April 24. Dorelia washing her feet, Dorelia with a single earring, Dorelia with children and without, in robes, and shawls and gowns and even—unusually—nude. She undoubtedly carried off costume beautifully, and in all these portraits, exudes that air of sleek calm which was apparent in the large study of her with three children shown at the Royal Academy's Post-Impressionist exhibition.

It is curious that an artist who in private life could treat women quite abominably, drew them with such love. Nearly all these drawings, the gathering of one collector, are of women; often of women as earth-mother, a body in her arms and children round her skirts. Most of them were done between 1904 and 1912—a period when John was fathering children, as both Dorelia and Kip, his first wife,

who died unloved by him in 1907. At one point women and children were packed off together into a Romney caravan on Dartmoor. Judging from the portraits, Dorelia's placidity was not denied.

There is an "interesting" drawing

of Gwen John done some time between 1905 and 1908; certainly no earth-mother, but a prim, high-toned girl in an Edwardian hat. The greatest and rather unexpected pleasure of the exhibition, however, is the sensitive quality of the exchanges, more covetous even than the drawings. Once again Dorelia wins, in a cap with great pheasant feathers swirling round her head. When he produced these confident pictures John was between twenty-five and thirty-five. He has been thought of as the Slade's instant young prodigy; but there was the extraordinary event in his life of the bathing accident, when he struck his head on a rock and had to spend a period of convalescence after which both his work and his character are said to have acquired sudden, flamboyant self-assurance.

John's treatment of himself as a model, here, is strikingly different from his treatment of the figures of women. In the gallery's window is a small etching, a lone self-portrait. Behind, in the gallery, are the Dorelias and Ida, the nudes, the apyris mothers, graceful and rather expressionless. But the artist who looks out of the self-portrait is lean, wary and tense. He seems to inhabit a different world.

Oxford  
University PressThe Life  
of David HumeErnest Campbell  
Mossner

Professor Mossner's definitive life of Hume was first published in 1954. For this revised and enlarged edition the author has corrected some errors of fact, updated the bibliography, and added a textual supplement which incorporates the results of recent Hume scholarship. Stuart Hampshire, writing in *Scientific American* of the first edition, said that it was "a splendidly successful book which will be indispensable both to students of Hume and to students of the eighteenth century. Second edition £20

Doubt and  
DogmatismStudies in Hellenistic  
EpistemologyEdited by  
Malcolm Schofield,  
Myles Burnyeat,  
and Jonathan Barnes

The achievement of Hellenistic philosophy was considerable in itself, and historically it had a formative influence on the development of modern philosophy. The problems and debates under discussion in the present volume marked out some of its central concerns for philosophy. £12.50

## Greek Aims

## In Fortification

A. W. Lawrence

In this book, information from literature and inscriptions is combined with the evidence of hundreds of ruins throughout the Greek world to provide an interpretation of the remains in the light of historical conditions. It investigates the motives for building the various types of fortification, the diverse means by which individual types performed their function, and the many respects in which the need for defences affected the lives of the inhabitants of Greek cities. Illustrated £35

Enacting a Bill  
of RightsThe Legal Problems  
Joseph Jaconelli

The author here analyses the legal difficulties that the United Kingdom would encounter in enacting a Bill of Rights. He examines the possible forms this could take, and how they would affect the workings of Parliament and the courts, and the changed role of judges in interpreting such a document. £14

Bruno Gutmann  
(1876-1966)A German Approach  
to Social Anthropology  
J. C. Winter

Bruno Gutmann ranks among the founders of social anthropology, and the influence of his thought and approach can be seen in the work of L. Levy-Bruhl, W. I. Thomas, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Franz Stelner, Mary Douglas, and Victor Turner. This is the first study of him in English. £14.50



## The Future of the Wiener Library

*[Faint, illegible markings]*

Since that date various attempts have been made to solve the problem of funding the Library in a time of run-away inflation. As recently as 1976 the Royal Historical Society offered its help to the trustees—with what result remains unclear. The picture painted in certain quarters recently of a library ignored and left defenceless against the ravages of inflation by the British historical profession which only now has been galvanized into querulous but not helpful complaint, is not perhaps entirely true to life.

D. C. WATT.  
The London School of Economics  
and Political Science, Houghton  
Street, London WC2A 2AE.

A second point, Mr. Watson says that my argument against the possibility of objective value judgments would, if accepted, invalidate my own case, because "the case against objectivity is, after all, as much an evaluation as the case for it". That is incorrect. The question of whether literary judgments can be objective or not is one of fact, not of value. It can be approached objectively by observation of the disagreements among those making value judgments, and inspection of their criteria.

I sympathize with Mr. Watson's repeated declaration that he has deep feelings about his own correctness which he cannot put into words. But he must realize that such feelings cannot, by their very nature, play any part in debate.

JOHN CAREY,  
Merton College, Oxford.

Author, Author appears on the contents page this week.

tunous, so without a misrepresentation, I have attributed his extravagant error to confusion, elsewhere in evidence, even in the illustrative text which he professes to repro-

rebut me by quoting from a private letter to him from Alcott—a letter that I could not have seen? If he thought that this was essential for a true understanding of his "old friend", should he not have taken steps before now to get that document, and others like it perhaps, on the public record—perhaps in a Memoir?

But one merit of such criticism, such "academicism," is that it distinguishes, as he doesn't, between the responsible evaluation of documents and the irresponsible, word-of-mouth gossip about documents and other pieces of dubious evidence that aren't in the public realm at all. What is the implication of his letter? That no one can write about Alloté except those who have been his friends? That we have waited a long time for such old chums to say their piece; since they have kept silence through so many years, can we be blamed for trying—without the special assistance of his noble testament—justified justice? Is it noble to test that for their part they were comfortably consigned to the

**DONALD DAVIE.**  
Department of English, Vanderbilt  
University, Nashville, Tennessee

Mr Morrison cites the £300 paid to judges of the National Poetry Competition. A few years ago I was one of the judges, along with Chinua Achebe, Michel Butor, John Gardner, Ernst Jandl and others, for the Neustadt/Books Abroad Prize and we were pleased to act for no fee: meeting at the University of Oklahoma to support our respective nominees was quite enough of a treat.

This brings us back to Mr. Morrison's "evaluation" question. I think his mistake is to accept that this has to be one of the Panel's functions, except in the

I have made it crystal clear, however (on the last page of the book), that the Pope's instinctive conservatism makes him bent on consolidating a divided Church before trying to take it into a new chapter in its life. Peter Hebblethwaite, of all people, should know that neither this nor any other Pope can change the Church overnight.

The final message of the book is to highlight the fascination of the present situation, paradoxical but real, of a conservative pontiff irrevocably pledged to the kind of Church reform that, being shrewdly premeditated, is the only kind that can ultimately succeed.

Like Margaret Thatcher, the Pope is unwilling to ask the premature question of those too impatient (or short-sighted?) to admit the eventual possible success of such courageous long-term strategy. I think it is Peter

## Bloomingdale's

Sir.—I enjoyed Marcelle Quinton's elegant solution to the vexed question of Bloomingdale's fourth or fifth floor (Letters, March 28). I wish that I could say she is right. However, Susan Cheever wrote (on page 98 of *Looking for Work*): "There are lots of old paintings of modern prints on the walls above the sofas and matching chairs from Bloomingdale's fourth floor." That, quite simply, is why in my review of her novel (February 22) I placed the furniture where I did.

SUSAN KENNEDY,  
86 Hungerford Road, London N7

Sir—Paul Bailey says in his review of Julian Barnes' novel *Metroland* (March 28) that "the Metroland of the title is made up of those London suburbs at the eastern end of the Metropolitan line". As an inhabitant of Metroland, I must point out that it is in fact made up of the suburbs of the Metropolitan line, the western end of the Metropolitan line, developed during the half-century before the Second World War from Wembley through Harrow to Watford, Chesham and Amersham, and Uxbridge—though, as the narrator of *Metroland* says, "the poshest, don't you know, bridge section. East is east, and west is west, and the twin meadows only during the rush-hour."

**NICOLAS WALTER.**  
134 Northumberland Road, Harrow, Metroland.

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Diego de Landa's *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, mentioned in Norman Hammond's review in the issue of February 8, is published in England by Constable under the title *Diego de Landa's Yucatan before and after the conquest*, and is priced at £2.

By Eric Korn

Here is a station announcement. The end of the typographic age, which was due to arrive at Platform 4 at 11.11, is running somewhat late. We apologise for any inconvenience this may cause. Passengers who are carrying printed reading matter are advised to enjoy it while they can.

One reason for the deferment of the electronic millennium seems to be that while computers are good at making people redundant, people good at making themselves redundant. For instance, who is the whitest warhead of the technological warrrior in Britain? Or the whitest warhead of the technological wavefront? Or anyway the fastest poker? Sinclair Electronics, that.

left for marketing; supposing he had been denied adequate state encouragement, harried by the courts and periodically dunked in bankruptcy, and an enterprising fellow, he would have been a mess of the business end of the business that his innovation fell into the hands of less original but less scrupulous rivals. Actually, that's just what did happen. What is this corporate reluctance to say "yes" to ideas that would make us so free and easy with other vacuous civilities? An analyst I know says that what makes California—and not them only—bewitched is hearing people say "I have a nice everything in my voice" and then they hope you can drop out. "Thank you for calling the Crabgrass Hotel," he intone the operators, before they put you on permanent hold, the telephonic equivalent of a life support machine. "Thank you for calling the Crabgrass Hotel," he goes forward to the pleasure of saying you again," said the captain, a fifty of us staggered down the vomit-slick fuselage after three quarters of an hour gazing about the Golden Gate. "Love," we realized, "you so badly," we realize. "Carus Airways doesn't make the maffing weather and it would ease our minds if just for once someone said 'That was a filthy experience we have all been through.'"

"No chance. Capitalism means never having to say you are sorry." (Behave!—State enterprise, too.)

"Sorry." I once called masochistically to a passing bumper that had up-ended me. "Sorry, are you?"

"I started," admission "I was talking, but your chin has done a little drama."

say I missed the Picnic and the A. Home but I thought it prudent considering the bad times and the scarcity of cash not to hold the latter but to come to what, were the adverts, especially one from the Hatters and Trimmers Union ("Do you think we advertise for fun?—just to get rid of our spare cash?") and the delectable verse stressing resilience rather than Jollity: "I sit on this stone as ever I can, I can't top it, I can't beat it, I'm making a union—advertised felt his out of a pig's trotter is Lillie Cameron, author of 'What Charlie Dickens might have thought of Blackpool'. The place starts low key but firm—"I think Charlie Dickens would have liked Blackpool as we find it today"—and then takes a more earnest turn through the insights: "how his kindly eyes would have lighted up at the sight of the laughing faces . . . how interested he would have been in our 'Mebber' . . . the Scenic Railway . . . the Water Chute . . . he would have waited for the boats . . . the shipping . . . and the stocks . . . though the conclusion is a modest "Yes, it is Blackpool's loss that Charlie Dickens is not amongst us today", sheer is a pretty clear case of texts saying that it is fairly remote of C.D. might be alive and in Blackpool in 1908.

The possibilities are endless. James Joyce's Belfast, what John Henry Newman would have admired about Ras-Al-Khaimah, a short tour of Minneapolis with the author of the *Ancrene Wives*, Loti's anecdotal *Madagascar* in a *Journal* (sorely ill placed off stage when he con).

\* \* \*

makes it the largest and for many purposes the most useful bibliographic reference work accessible to the general public. The growth of the Channel Tunnel or French Academy Dictionary, NUC has kept astoundingly close to schedule, smiling in the face of bibliofication.

The introduction to Volume 5 (1968) lists 610 volumes published at the rate of sixty a year. They started late in the year: Volume 5 was the first to bear the date 1969; and 1979 accordingly began with Volume 605. At last count the British Library's shelves held Volume 659, published in December. The alphabet as you see, has proved slightly longer than anticipated, or contributors more cooperative: 659 has reached only WRIGHT, FRANCES TERESA: or rather it doesn't because she is the White Heron, the last of the volumes in the past. The latest actual entry is Frances Laines Wright, who edited *The White Heron* (1937), an *Anthology of Louisiana Women Poets of Today* (held). I regret to say that I have not heard of her, but only at Texas A and U and by those Damyaneks at DLC, an insult to Southern Womanhood indeed).

*The White Heron* also perches about midway through Volume 162 of the "77-volume Library of Congress Catalogue of 1946, which suggests that the NUC will reach its omega or zzz at Volume 1679 divided by 161.5 times 859, or rather slim volume 682 (then, of course, the supplementary will be added). The estimate is based on the original estimate for size, and rate of completion maintained to this whisker, which makes most civil engineers look very sick.

enough, few manufacturers of household goods copied the idea, but the few who have taken it up have enthusiastically. In consequence the Tristan da Cunha shot-putting team consists of Graham Lady Chatterley's Lover, Arthur James Dictionary of National Biography, and Eunice Blood. The Pragues Blood is a Master Spirit. In the women's four by four hundred metres relay the lead was taken by the team from Laputa, Andrea Puffin, Rachel Peacock, Virginia Pelican and Samantha Penguin-Special; but the procession was followed by a succession of baring against Felicia V. Need Never Take More than One Choice in Any Month.

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*Auberon Waugh,  
Evening Standard.*

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*Hilary Bailey, The Guardian.*

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DAVID ABBS is the author of *Dead Man Surrealism*, 1974.

PAUL BARNES' novel *Old Soldiers* was published last year at the University of London.

W. G. BEASLEY is Professor of the History of the Far East at the University of London.

PAUL BENNETT's *Separate Country: A Literary Journey through the American South* was published last year.

MARK BUCKLEY's books include *An Introduction to the Economics of Education*, 1970, and *The Cambridge Revolution: Success or Failure?*, 1974.

PETER COLLIER is a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

M. A. COLEMAN, Professor of Pathology at the University of Bristol.

CIVIL EWARD's most recent collection of poems is *All My Little Ones*, 1979.

KYRIE FIRZLYNN's most recent book is *Before the Revolution*, 1978.

HENRY GIFFORD's books include

GEORGE GATSCODA's most recent collection of poems is *The Fiesta and other Poems*, 1978.

DAVID HAYMES's books include *The English Shire's and Shire's Equity* and *Extra-Sensory Perception*, 1967.

ANDREW HISLOP has just finished a screenplay of John Franklin Bardin's *The Deadly Percheron*.

DAVID KORN is a book dealer in London.

HUGH LLOYD-JONES is Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford.

GEORFFREY MARSHALL is a Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford.

T. P. MATTHESON is Deputy Director of the Shakespeare Institute at the University of Birmingham.

JAMES MORGAN is the editor of *Richard Traugott's Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, 1975-77.

HUGH MOWAT, FRANKS is Director of European Ceramics at Christie's.

PATRICK O'CONNOR is the editor and

CAROLINE OLIVER is a contributor to *Africa and Its Explorers*, 1978.

J. R. POLK's most recent book is *to the American Pan*, reviewed shortly in the *T.S.*

ALAN ROPWAY is a Reader in English at the University of Southampton.

LEONARD SCHAPIRO's *Turgenev* was published in 1978.

PETER SCUFFHAM's most recent collection of poems, *The Summative Path*, of poems, *The Summative Path*, will be reviewed shortly in the *T.S.*

ERIC STOKES's books include *English Utilitarians and the Novel*, and *The Peasant and the King*.

RICHARD USBORNE is the author of *Wodehouse at Work* in 1977.

CHARLES WHITAKER was BBC correspondent in Washington from 1967 to 1977.

ROBERT WISMATH is the author of

to them (or rather, to well, I wrote them, but I don't know if they read my Science of Cambridge) to ask me if my extra-RAM chip (whatever that may be) which was there in very good time for Christmas, and was applied, fairly arrogantly, by asking for the return of their acknowledgment of my order. This wonderfully means that their filing system is more than adequate, and they know it and mine, considering the size of it and a high level of hysteria. I write to them, along these lines, suggesting that I'd heard tell of the applications of their computer was for information processing boring for the future business world, like customers' names and addresses. They returned my letter with the cryptic words scrawled upon it, and then neither of them was any the wiser, either.

So, goodness, supposing printing was pioneered by a technologist, who spent so much time and money on research that he had to be paid for it, and

forward to Mrs. Parsons' and her husband's, a lift of us staggered down the vomit-slick fuselage after three quarters of an hour gushing about the Golden Gate. "Look," we wanted to say so badly, "we realize that a rainy day doesn't make the maffing weather and I would ease our minds if just for once someone said 'That was a filthy experience we have all been through.'"

But no chance. Capitalism means never having to say you are sorry. (Benevolent State enterprise, too. "Sorry" I once called macroeconomics to a passing bumper that had pulled up to the window of a car that snarled "admission of responsibility, look what your chin has done to my chrome."

Stumbled across a Chinese and useful literary item in the Charleston 1990 number of Teddy Ashton's *Annals of the Promenade Blackpool*: "A hearty laugh beats physic and phlegm and mirth is better than doctoring."

the Scenic Railway . . . the  
Water Chute . . . he would have  
found material for many tales in the  
whipping post and the stocks  
and coming to a conclusion is a mode  
"Yes, it is Blackpool's loss that  
Charles Dickens is not amongst us  
today", dear is a pretty clear case  
texts saying that it is fairly remote  
of C.D. not to be alive and in Black  
pool.

The possibilities are endless  
James Joyce's Belfast, what John  
Henry Newman would have mo  
admitted about Ras-Al-Khaima,  
short tour of Mississippi with the  
authorities, the "The Great Gats  
Nonsensid, with Kierkegaard in  
Helen's (sorent uld pils off eav  
when he con).

1980 should see the completion  
an undertaking on which public  
and coming can be congratulated  
another, The National Union. Car  
logue of pre-1958 Imprints recont  
what some seven hundred. Nor  
American Libraries held by way

The *White Heron* also pertains about midway through Volume 166 of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in the Catalogue of 1946, which suggests that the NUC will reach its omega or zzz at Volume 167 divided by 161.5 times 859, or rather slim volume 682 (thereof 681, a substantial undercount will be a gain), that's 11 per cent over the original estimate for size, and rate of completion maintained to a whisker, which makes most civil engineers look very slick.

There were amazing scenes at the first day of the 1984 Olympic Games here in Ras-Al-Khaimah. The trouble began four years ago, when some British athlete changed his name to Fred Vladimir and got the distillation

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Auberon Waugh,  
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# The case for chemotherapy

By M. A. Epstein

LUCIAN ISRAEL:  
Conquering Cancer  
Translated by Joan Pinkham  
229pp. Allen Lane. £6.50.  
0 7139 1303 7

This book comes with the claim by Susan Sontag that it is "by far the most intelligent, informative and useful book ever written on cancer". Even from the most voracious of readers among cancer specialists, such a statement would be manifestly absurd, and after reading the book it is hard to know on what grounds Ms Sontag has seen fit to give it such all-embracing approval. It is certainly true that the more general interest and discussion which can be generated on the subject of cancer, the better for the public at large. For despite everything, a cloud of fear, ignorance and shame still hangs over this disease and needs to be dispersed; if there is any condition in medicine where the outcome hinges crucially on the earliness with which the patient comes forward for treatment, then cancer is the prime example. To that extent, therefore, Lucian Israel has made a useful contribution by writing a general survey of cancer as it affects the patient medically, socially and emotionally, and thus bringing this often forbidden subject out from under the carpet.

Dr Israel belongs to that new group of cancer specialists which has come to be known under the North American term of Oncologists. They are cancer therapists who rely heavily on the new chemical anti-cancer substances and who

wish to employ the more traditional surgical and radiotherapy approaches as ancillaries. There is, indeed, a great deal to be said for this "combined" approach to cancer treatment, but on the other hand the successful side-effects and emotionally disturbing consequences of many of our current chemotherapeutic agents often make it undesirable to use them in the depressingly numerous cases where they are likely at best merely to prolong the agony for a brief period, and at worst to have no effect at all. Israel's enthusiasm for his particular approach to the problem of cancer treatment has led him to present an extreme view in favour of subjecting all cancer patients to every form of available treatment, irrespective of the likely outcome. Such a view argues that if this or that group of patients can be made to survive three months longer on a particular regimen this year, perhaps next year comparable patients may survive an slightly modified treatment for six months or longer, and the year after for appreciable and worth-while periods.

Much controversy surrounds this approach and Israel deals with some aspects of it in the sections of the book concerned with treatment trials and clinical research. Although there is no doubt whatsoever that advances in chemotherapy over the past fifteen years have achieved almost miraculously high cure rates in some well-defined types of cancer, in earlier years were almost 100 per cent fatal, and have vastly improved the outlook in many other kinds of cancer, nevertheless Israel's unbalanced overstatement of the case for chemotherapy can only do it disservice. This is particularly so when it is combined with Israel's extremely hostile attitude to his more cautious and conventional col-

leagues in radiotherapy and surgery; after all, there is something to be said for leaving those cancer patients to die in peace who are sadly too far gone for help by treatment.

Conquering Cancer appeared in France in 1978, and the present edition has been acceptably translated by Joan Pinkham, although its French origins are betrayed throughout the text. Perhaps it is true that in France prejudice and hostility towards Oncologists and their chemical anti-cancer agents is as strong as Israel claims—it certainly is not so in Britain. Northern Europe or North America. Apart from the constant knocking of colleagues in other disciplines, the strident, rather hysterical overstatement of the case, and the repeated stories supposedly providing evidence of Israel's own cleverness and foresight, and his connections with distinguished friends and colleagues, the book has other faults.

It might be argued that as a clinician Israel could be forgiven for his many small errors throughout the chapters covering the basic scientific side of the disease, but from another viewpoint, as an author chooses to deal with a topic, he should get it right. The section on DNA damage and repair contains several inaccuracies, the field of viral carcinogenesis is treated in an inadequate and uninformed way with prominent errors, and long discredited work on the possible role of viruses in human breast cancer, and certain aspects of cell growth and the cell cycle leave much to be desired.

Dr Israel is his own worst enemy. A more moderate and less emotional case for combined therapy would have done him only good and it provided a balanced account of the possibilities in this new field, whereas the book as it stands alienates the reader from page to page.

## Primavera

In this, her kingdom, fictions of light gather,  
Suffusing the pale flesh in a grave trance  
Which is her thought, and whose desires are other;  
The light airs hover over a ring dance.  
The grace-notes hold there, and the humming fruit glow;  
The riders all are fallen at San Romano.

The garden shaped my steps to her consent;  
I read the text of her inviting hand.  
Knew time to be dissolved, the censurs absent.  
No city shook its bell-voices on the land,  
No New Jerusalem: mere tumbled gauze  
Whose wells disclosed and hid the garden's laws.

Then, when I turned, light lived from edge to edge  
And each defining line became the source.  
The glancing room conferred a privilege  
To enter silence, follow out its course,  
Turn to a window, and exchange a stare  
With frost laid cold on paths, untrdden, bare.

I knew this light, those breaths our dead resign,  
That gift of tongues which holds authority,  
Those dancers on some gold horizon-line.  
That chosen ground. Her kingdom set me free  
To share an hour unmeasured by the clock,  
A space drawn freely between key and lock.

How, though, to judge and weigh the shift of planes  
Or tell the climbing foreground from the sky?  
Under the music come the dragging chains  
And we are littered under Mercury.  
Arrows must fledge the saint; the pearl flesh duffs;  
And Mary weeps there in the Field of Skulls.

La Derelitta bows her head, life thrown  
To one eternal gesture of despair:  
The flawless courses of unyielding stone  
Pave the twinned elements of earth and air.  
Suaonaria burns; the scorched tears run,  
Time throws a black smoke up against the sun.

Yet the globes hang there, and the star-flowers spill,  
Speak mortal names on an immortal ground  
Which is the ground of being, printless still:  
The dark grove sighs with music beyond sound.  
Hortus Inclusus, and there is no stir  
Where haloed leaf and tree announces her.

Peter Scupham

## Leaving Lisbon

Luis Vaz de Camões, d 1580

When our caravels  
spread their sails to the wind  
and they dip and roll  
on the sea swell  
in the golden afternoon

When the distance between us  
and the white buildings  
that perch like gulls on the hills  
grows and grows,  
and the bells and the cheers and the crying  
are no longer heard

A fear chills my heart  
in the golden afternoon  
and I wonder about  
the purpose of spices.

Far out at sea,  
I remember your white streets,  
Lisbon  
and I dip my bread in your wine,  
Lisbon.

Adolf Wood

## Gaspard de la Nuit

Are these all many or is it one?  
enquiries that revolve,  
move the feet and thump the pillow  
toward about 2 a.m.  
with me, blue moonlight splashing on the carpet  
and a moose moonlight somewhere  
among the poky work hilltop trees,  
odd cars bent homeward  
distantly.  
One or a melody,  
night, auct.

Our galaxy has no point at all  
nor do the others:  
gleaming down  
on our marriage, bills, piano,  
on Parliament House.  
T-shirts and ammoniac nappies  
lodged in their think in space-time  
for some directionless reason  
soon to be rubbed out like a blackboard lesson.

Sleep, now,  
dreams are much easier  
and cheap as salt water.

Chris Wallace-Grabbe

SAMUEL HOLLANDER:  
The Economics of David Ricardo  
174pp.  
Heinemann Educational.  
£19.50  
0 435 84411 3

With the possible exception of Karl Marx, no great economist of the past has received so many divergent and even contradictory interpretations as David Ricardo. No sooner had he appeared on the scene but he attracted a number of ardent disciples who hailed him as the founder of a new rigorous science of political economy (Thomas de Quincey, even went so far as to credit his cure from an opium addiction to the exhilarating effects of reading Ricardo). However, these were soon followed by an even larger number of detractors, who struggled, sometimes unsuccessfully, to escape from the grip of Ricardo's overwhelming influence on the economic thinking of his times. The leading economic textbook of the mid-nineteenth century, John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Economics*, paid tribute once again to Ricardo's genius and sound his reputation as a leader of another generation of students. But with the onset of the "marginal revolution" in the 1870s, Ricardo's star began to wane and many now agreed with Jevons that he had "shunted the car of economic science on to a wrong line". The fact that Marx hailed Ricardo as his intellectual mentor served, if anything, to accelerate the anti-Ricardian trend and even Marshall's *Economics* to make the best case for him and to overlook some of his errors as the product of a clumsy style of expression failed to recuperate his declining reputation.

Ricardo has staged a comeback, however, in our own times. The turning point came with the publication of Piero Sraffa's slim masterpiece, *Production of Commodities* (by Means of Commodities), 1960. One of the many features of Ricardo's thinking that had puzzled generations of readers was his habit of expressing all his economic variables in terms of an "invariable measure of value"—a yardstick which he himself admitted did not and could not exist as such. His trump card was "the fundamental theorem of distribution" according to which "wages are only low when wages are high". Was this a proposition about the rate of profit, and, if so, was it true or false? It was not true, even if profits and wages were measured in terms of the invariable yardstick. It was easy to see that wages were only true on certain additional assumptions—a wage basket made up entirely of agricultural goods, labour as the only ultimate source factor of production, the absence of joint production, and the significance of the invariable measuring-rod still baffled many readers. In despair, they interpreted the "fundamental theorem" of the hyphenated relation between profits and wages as a statement about relative shares of national income minus rents, thus implying that a man as clever as Ricardo wasted hundreds of pages defending a truism.

What Sraffa does in his book is to set up the Ricardian theorem in modern terms and then to show how, in and behind it, it is possible to construct a hypothetical "money" in which to express prices such changes in relative prices are invariant to changes in profits and wages. Therefore, a higher rate of profit does mean a lower rate of wages, and vice versa. This appears to rehabilitate Ricardo as having put the finger on a vital truth; it is, however, contrary to modern teaching to divorce the determination of commodity prices from the determination of factor prices, and there is even a sense in which it precedes the former. Coming from an author who was himself the pre-eminent interpreter of Ricardo, this interpretation of Ricardo could not be ignored.

It took little time for Marxist economists to perceive the significance of this Griffinian reading: they revealed two great "breakthroughs" (for the latter, particularly the equilibrium branch) leading down from Jevons, Walras, and even Marshall to the Samuelson and Friedmanns of today, in which all relevant economic variables are simultaneously determined, and a Ricardo-Marx branch in which distribution takes priority over pricing and in which economic variables are causally determined in a sequential chain starting from the real wage and hence the power relationships between capital and labour. Thus, 150 years after his death, Ricardo, the most bourgeois of all bourgeois economists, is back in business as one of the founding fathers of Marxian and radical economics. Such are the strange twists and turns of intellectual history.

The story of the chequered career of the Ricardian legacy must be continually kept in mind when reading this vast, authoritative work by Samuel Hollander, which follows on from his earlier *Economics of Adam Smith* (1973). The introduction and the concluding chapter allude to that story; indeed they pour devastating scorn on the attempt of Sraffians to turn Ricardo into a forerunner of both Marx and Sraffa, but they do so in a laudable way, excluding not only the general reader but even economists who have not hitherto specialized in the history of economic thought. It is clearly written but so dense is the argument and so terse are the explanations that the accompanying almost endless and lengthy quotations from primary sources that one's attention cannot be allowed to wander even for a moment.

After a brief introduction, we begin with 100 pages on the legacy of Adam Smith, which are designed to explain what, in Sraffa's view, Ricardo's theoretical innovations. Hollander vigorously denies that there was any such thing as a Ricardian "revolution", particularly in a methodological sense. Adam Smith, he argues, was just as abstract and as deductive as Sraffa, and Ricardo must be understood as correcting and refining Smith, rather than replacing him. In particular, he believed that Smith's theory of the declining rate of return on capital was untenable and he traced the error to Smith's belief that an increase in money wages has an effect on raising the level of money prices. Ricardo bent all his efforts to proving that inflationary increases in wages are impossible; and moreover, that money wages only rise for one reason, namely, the increasing real cost of producing agricultural wage goods.

Ricardo's new theory of profits, and the associated concept of the invariant "yardstick" which he employed to demonstrate the truth of his "fundamental theorem", take us through the next 300 pages, which make up the heart of Hollander's study. Chapter 4, which shows that Ricardo never held a so-called corn-model, where the rate of profit is determined in purely physical terms before the question of pricing has even been raised, is Hollander at his best. The idea that such a corn-model can be read into the early Ricardo is part and parcel of the new Marxist mythology that has been created around him. There follow another 100 pages on Ricardo's monetary theories, where most of the earlier readers have now distinctly "dis-fashed", including another review of the debate between Ricardo and Malthus on the causes of the post-Waterloo depression, perhaps the most relentless debate ever conducted between two great economists. By page 500 we have left theory behind us and entered on an examination of Ricardo's policy proposals, with the corn-law issue and the question of the poor laws taking pride of place. A final chapter, entitled "Ricardo, together, and counterpointing Ricardo, and Sraffa", is followed by a half-dozen appendices and an excellent bibliography of English material on and about Ricardo.

This is a very good book but not the great book economists have long hoped for. It is marred by a number of irritating features: it is outrageously long, and much of the length is due to non-picking digressions that cross the "is" and dot the "it" of previous chapters; the second half of the book is a tedious, particularly the invariable medium of value which is constantly neglected in

# Marx's bourgeois mentor

By Mark Blaug

"The law of markets": even if we grant the need with an author like Ricardo to document copiously his alternative versions of the same idea, nothing can excuse a text in which there are almost as many words by Ricardo as by Hollander; in the effort to defend Ricardo against virtually every charge of inconsistency and error that has ever been levelled against him, the art of sympathetic interpretation is stretched beyond all reasonable limits; and the author's ingrained habit of differentiating his own judgments from those of almost every other commentator on Ricardo, while grudgingly acknowledging in his footnotes that one or two may have been there before him, is carried to maddening lengths.

There is, moreover, at least one persistent note in Hollander's interpretation which strikes me as profoundly misleading, if not downright wrong. It has to do with the basic role of the invariable measure of value in Ricardo's system. Ricardo realized that a rise in money wages consequent upon a rise in real wages will not only distort the price structure by raising the prices of labour-intensive commodities relative to those of capital-intensive commodities, but will also raise the general level of prices. To eliminate this latter effect, he measured all his prices in terms of a fictional commodity produced by a ratio of capital to labour that is a mean of the entire spectrum of capital-labour ratios in the economy, its own capital being in turn produced by a mean capital-labour ratio, and so on ad infinitum. This is the celebrated "invariable measure of value". When prices are expressed in it, we get a clear-cut Ricardian trade-off between the profit rate and the wage rate, which we nowadays label "the factor-price frontier".

Ricardo could have secured the same results by the better assumed method of relating the capital-labour ratios in all industries as the same, so that we are faced in effect with a one-sector model, but he had laid so much emphasis on the wide variety of capital-labour ratios actually prevalent in the real world that this particular route was closed to him. He could also have arrived at the same result simply by assuming a given price level, or a constant purchasing power of money, but he was not so simple-minded. There is a well-defined factor-price frontier even in a world of multiple commodities, beyond his technical competence (or for that matter the technical competence of any other economist) to prove. The key to his obsession with the "invariable measure of value", which he incorrectly thought would support not just his theory but also any theory of wages, is that he never held a so-called corn-model, where the rate of profit is determined in purely physical terms before the question of pricing has even been raised, is Hollander at his best. The idea that such a corn-model can be read into the early Ricardo is part and parcel of the new Marxist mythology that has been created around him. There follow another 100 pages on Ricardo's monetary theories, where most of the earlier readers have now distinctly "dis-fashed", including another review of the debate between Ricardo and Malthus on the causes of the post-Waterloo depression, perhaps the most relentless debate ever conducted between two great economists. By page 500 we have left theory behind us and entered on an examination of Ricardo's policy proposals, with the corn-law issue and the question of the poor laws taking pride of place. A final chapter, entitled "Ricardo, together, and counterpointing Ricardo, and Sraffa", is followed by a half-dozen appendices and an excellent bibliography of English material on and about Ricardo.

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Hollander's discussion. In other words, all the subtleties of his reading, allowing for the nuances of Ricardo's many asides, and all the theoretical rigour of modern reformulations of Ricardo's propositions, will not save Ricardo from the charge that he was attempting to perform the impossible feat of squaring a circle using only a ruler and compass.

Hollander establishes beyond doubt that Ricardo frequently operates with a model in which wages are well above subsistence levels and in which the economy was not yet settled down to a steady state of long-run equilibrium adjustment to changes in capital and population. But to conclude from this that no definite prediction flows from the Ricardian model, that Ricardo's contribution was to create an "engine of analysis" in which anything may happen, and that Marshall was quite right to regard him as an early but muddled forerunner of himself, is surely something of an exaggeration? So, in my view, about Ricardo's tendency to state "strong cases" based on models with few variables and many parameters in which equilibrium adjustments are instantaneously reached, labelled the "Ricardian Vice". But every experienced reader of Ricardo knows that he rarely stated his "strong cases" without qualifying them, so that in the end we are always left wondering whether he meant them to be directly applicable to the real world.

Hollander has a field day showing that Ricardo was frequently a shrewd observer of the actual circumstances which nullified the practical implications of his abstract theorems but, in so doing, he empties out the baby with the bath-water and gives us a Ricardo so responsible, so cautious and so circumspect that his contemporaries would hardly have recognized him. Ricardo was himself inordinately fond of the verb "grasp", which appears literally hundreds of times in his writings, and he was understood at the time to be a thinker who did compute himself to definite predictions. Hollander insists that, despite the superficial appearance of positivism, he was really an optimist about Britain's growth prospects. However, he goes so far in denying that Ricardo ever meant to place any limits on the growth potential of a closed economy, at least within a time horizon of much interest to policymakers, that he then has to spend three pages explaining why Ricardo chose nevertheless to adopt an analytical framework which relied so heavily on diminishing agricultural returns and the stationary state.

There must be something wrong with a brand of interpretation that requires such intellectual acrobatics. The earlier argument that there is really nothing to choose between Smith's eclectic, commonsensical approach and Ricardo's method of abstract theorizing in terms of highly stylized

models, which I personally find utterly unconvincing, is simply the other side of the coin of clearing Ricardo from any charge of ever committing the Ricardian Vice: if Ricardo and Smith are so alike, Hollander seems to be saying, the much acclaimed virtues of the latter can also be ascribed to the former.

A historian of economic thought must be concerned with what contemporaries of Ricardo made of him and not simply with what he may still be saying to us in the twentieth century. Hollander is nothing if not a dedicated historian of ideas and his view of Ricardo is therefore inevitably coloured by his reading of the early Ricardians. He argues, quite rightly in my opinion, that there the note of the rapid decline in Ricardo's authority after his death that many other commentators have discerned. Ricardo formed a school of economic opinion whose characteristic feature, according to Hollander, is the use of a special theory of value involving an invariant standard in the derivation of the inverse relationship between wages and profits. Alas, almost no one besides Mill (and later Marx) grasped the logic of this special theory of value, but they did subscribe to its chief implication, namely, that the rate of return on capital was governed by the yield of land in agriculture. It is in this latter sense that Ricardian reasoning dominated the climate of economic opinion all through the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Hollander would deny this argument, which jars with his consistent belief in the crucial role of agriculture in Ricardo's theory of profit. The result is both to misrepresent Ricardo's meaning and to misrepresent the reception of his ideas in the heyday of classical political economy.

There is much in this book that is very well done: the delineation of the general equilibrium elements in Ricardo's thinking; the emphasis on disequilibrium adjustments in his model; the due appreciation of his awareness of demand; his lucid knowledge of the nature of his perfunctory, but essentially Austrian view of the nature of profits; and much more besides. But the wheat is nevertheless, intermixed with chaff, and considerable pruning and editing would have come much to improve the book. Still, there can be no doubt that from now on this volume will be required reading for anyone who dares to pronounce on "what Ricardo really meant".

Seven volumes of papers published by the Political Economy Club, founded by Ricardo in 1821, between 1860 and 1920 have now been reprinted as a set of five volumes. They include lists of members, questions discussed, and minutes of the proceedings. The distributors are: Kegan Paul, London; The Macmillan Company, New York; The Macmillan Company, Tokyo; The Macmillan Company, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan, price £200 the set.

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